

ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD : AL-FALIMBANI'S SCHOLARSHIP

Mohammed Hussain Ahmad



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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

*To My beloved late father, Pehin Penyurat Haji Awang Ahmad bin
Pehin Jawatan Dalam Haji Awang Mohammad Yusof (d.1436/2015),
May Allah sanctify his soul and bless him.*



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Chapter 4

Al-Falimbānī's Schools

Introduction

This chapter is a thorough investigation of his close students, twelve in all, keeping in mind that there must have been more as 'Abd aṣ-Šamad al-Falimbānī was reported to have taught at least in Mecca and Zabīd, both cities regarded as highly esteemed centres for traditional Islamic learning during the period under study. Apart from providing information on his scholarly discourse, as was the case in the study of his teachers, this section also discusses the types of knowledge he transmitted, inspired and instructed, and further historical information on his life.

This section may be considered somewhat ambitious due to the fact that there are no studies discussing this area. The initial difficulty faced when conducting this kind of research is that al-Falimbānī himself does not mention his student's names in any of his works. Secondly, only glimpses that appear scattered throughout numerous genres of works in both Malay and Arabic allow us to trace his network of students and their locations. These have to be drawn together to make this a relatively cohesive account. This will be done by classifying al-Falimbānī's students by location.

Al-Falimbānī in Mecca

The numerous writings on *isnāds* of al-Fādānī, apart from revealing several teachers of al-Falimbānī unknown to previous studies, also tell us those scholars who learned from him and hence were among his disciples. From these *isnāds*, I have been able to collect several names of scholars who studied directly with him, such as Nawawī al-Bantanī, 'Uthmān ad-Dimyātī, 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Bīmāwī, Fātimah

al-Falimbāniyyah (his daughter), 'Abd al-Mannān at-Tarmasī, Ṣāliḥ as-Samārānī, Arshad al-Banjārī, Maḥmūd b. Kinān al-Falimbānī, and Jarjis (or Jirjis) al-Mūṣilī.

It is fortunate that for most of these later generations of *Jāwī* scholars, their biographical notices are available in Arabic biographical writings, which further assist us in analysing their connections in the scholarly networks. It is important to note that biographical notices for al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* colleagues in Arabic sources are extremely rare, to an extent that he was the only *Jāwī* scholar of his period that I found to have independent notices devoted to him in Arabic biographical writings. This, as I have highlighted earlier, reflects his prominent position and esteemed teaching career as a highly regarded *Jāwī* scholar of his time in the Arab world, especially in Zabīd.

Perhaps, one of al-Falimbānī's students who benefited greatly from him was [Abū 'Abd al-Mu'tū] Muḥammad Nawawī b. 'Umar b. 'Arabī al-Jāwī al-Bantanī ash-Shāfi'i al-Makkī (1230-1314/1814-96), better known in modern times as Shaykh Nawawī Banten.¹ According to his close student, the Indian by birth, and a historian and *muḥaddith*, 'Abd as-Sattār b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bakrī aş-Şiddīqī ad-Dihlawī al-Makkī (1286-1355/1870-1936), Nawawī al-Bantanī was born in his home country in Banten, Western Java on a Monday, in 1230/1814 and travelled to Mecca at a very young age,² and according to a modern study, had left his hometown around 1245/1829 at the age of fifteen.³

Nawawī al-Bantanī was a great scholar (*al-'allāmah*), *al-'ālim al-jalil* (a sublime savant), *al-fahhāmah* (astute), *mufassir* (an expositor of Qur'ān), a *Šūfi* and a Shāfi'i jurist.⁴ Apart from al-Falimbānī, al-Bantanī later studied with numerous Arab professors of his period, such as Sayyid Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān ash-Shāfi'i al-Makkī, better known as Aḥmad an-Nahrāwī (1210-91/1795-1874), Aḥmad ad-Dimyātī (d. 1270/1853 in Medina), the Shāfi'i *muftī* of Mecca, and Muḥammad Ḥasab Allāh (1233-1335/1817-1916).⁵ In addition, al-Fādānī also includes Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī (d. 1240/1824) among his teachers from whom he received one of the most popular Prophetic tradition, '*innamā 'l-a'māl bi 'n-niyyāt, wa-innamā likulli 'imri 'in mā nawā*' (actions are defined by intentions, and to every person what he intends).⁶ The latter, as noted earlier, in turn had learned from al-Falimbānī's teachers, including

his father Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī, ‘Alī al-Wanā’ī and Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭār.⁷ However, on examining the year of death of az-Zamzamī and arrival of al-Bantānī, assuming that his date of arrival was given correctly, it is unlikely that they met in Mecca. Therefore, perhaps he must have received this *hadīth* indirectly by way of *ijāzah* by correspondence.

Apart from studying in Mecca, al-Bantānī also travelled to Medina where he studied *hadīth* with Muḥammad Khaṭīb Dūmā al-Ḥanbalī and received from him the *al-hadīth al-musalsal bi ‘d-Dimashqīyyīn*. From Medina, he frequently travelled to Egypt and Syria to further his studies and to gain benefits from its scholars.⁸

In his unpublished *ijāzah* granted to ‘Abd as-Sattār al-Bakrī, al-Bantānī provides a concise list of some of his teachers and their teachers; however, he limits himself to listing only seven of the most recent Arab professors he attended. They were, in addition to an-Nahrāwī and ad-Dimyātī, ‘Abd al-Hamīd ad-Dāghistānī (d. 1301/1883), Yūsuf b. ‘Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sinbillāwaynī (*nishbah* to as-Sinbillāwayn in Egypt, d. 1285/1868 in Mecca), ‘Umar b. Muḥammad Barakāt al-Biqā’ī (1245-1313/1829-96), ‘Alī b. Aḥmad ar-Rahbīnī (d. 1293/1876 in Istanbul) and ‘Umar al-Jibrīnī.⁹ It is unfortunate that al-Bantānī only includes his most recent teachers, which otherwise would perhaps have given us a better knowledge of his earlier *Jāwī* teachers, among whom al-Falimbānī himself would figure.

The Dutch scholar, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje during his sojourn in Arabia between 1884-1885 met Nawawī al-Bantānī in Mecca, whom he described as the most renowned *Jāwī* doctor of divinity, who memorised the Qur’ān perfectly.¹⁰ Snouck mentioned two of his *Jāwī* teachers, Khaṭīb Sambas, who in most probability was Aḥmad Khaṭīb b. ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Jāwī as-Sambasī (1217-89/1802-72),¹¹ and ‘Abd al-Ghanī Bima, who must have been ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Ṣubḥ al-Jāwī al-Bīmāwī (d. 1270/1853), who was reported to have lived over a hundred years.¹²

However, as we can see in al-Fādānī’s writings, most of his *isnāds* for various Islamic sciences that he studied with his *Jāwī* teachers virtually include Nawawī al-Bantānī as part of the chain, and he in turn learned it with ‘Abd as-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī.¹³ This indicates that al-Falimbānī was one of al-Bantānī’s important *Jāwī* teachers.

The Islamic sciences that al-Bantanī studied with al-Falimbānī include literatures on *hadīth* such as *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Imām Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, *Musnad ash-Shāfi'i*, *Musnad Aḥmad*, as-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmi'* *as-Ṣaghīr*, and its commentary, *Fayḍ al-Qadīr Sharḥ al-Jāmi'* *as-Ṣaghīr* by al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621). On *sīrah* he read at-Tirmidhī's *ash-Shamā'il*; on *tafsīr* he read al-Khāzin's (d. 725/1324) *Lubāb at-Ta'wīl fī Ma'ānī at-Tanzīl*, and *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, composed by the two 'al-Jalāls': Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Mahallī (d. 864/1459) who wrote half of it, and his student, Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who completed it after his teacher's death. On *tawḥīd* he read Abū Ja'far at-Tahāwī's (d. 321/933) *al-'Aqīdat at-Tahāwiyyah*, Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 597/1201) *Daf' Shubah at-Tashbīh bi-Akuff at-Tanzīh*, as-Sanūsī's (d. 895/1490) *Umm al-Barāhīn* and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's (d. 1206/1792) *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd fī Ḥaq Allāh 'adā 'l-'Abīd*.

On 'ulūm al-Qur'ān, al-Bantanī read Abū 'Amr ad-Dānī's (d. 444/1052) *at-Taysīr fī al-Qirā'āt as-Sab'*; on *fiqh* he read Ibn al-Wardī's (d. 749/1349) *Bahjat al-Hāwī*, Muhib ad-Dīn at-Tabarī's (d. 684/1295) *al-Qirā'āt li-Qāṣidī Umm al-Qurā*, Ismā'il al-Muqrī's (d. 837/1433) *ar-Rawd wa 'l-Irshād*, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī's (d. 974/1566) *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm*, a commentary on Bā-Fadl's (d. 918/1512) *al-Muqaddimah al-Haḍramiyyah*, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī's *al-Ḥawāshī al-Madaniyyah*, his glosses on *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm*.

As for *taṣawwuf*, al-Bantanī studied Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's (d. 709/1309) *al-Hikam* and *at-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr*, and Ibn al-'Arabī's (d. 638/1240) *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*, all three were advanced books on Sūfism. The list goes on with other Islamic sciences including grammar and history. From this list, it is certain that al-Falimbānī possessed a thorough knowledge and was a profound scholar of various branches of Islamic disciplines, especially *taṣawwuf*, so that he was able to teach advanced books to his students. It also indicates that Nawawī al-Bantanī must have spent a substantial time studying all these works with him. Above all, this clearly suggests that al-Falimbānī was still alive by the time al-Bantanī reached Mecca around 1245/1829 and that he was able to meet and study with him.

Nawawī al-Bantanī lived in the vicinity of al-Haram, in a quarter called Shi'b 'Alī (the Gap of 'Alī). Apart from lecturing at his *madrasah*,

he also gave regular lectures at his house, which would be crowded with no less than two hundred students at a time.¹⁴ His students were mainly fellow *Jāwīs*, and many of them later became *kiyais* (religious teachers) of many *pesantrens* (traditional Islamic educational institutions) in the Archipelago.¹⁵ Some of Nawawī al-Bantānī's students later became scholars of *al-Haramayn* and thus in turn became teachers to later *Jāwī* scholars. For instance, three of his students, *al-mu'ammar* Jam'ān b. Sāmūn al-Jāwī at-Tanqarānī (d. 1381/1962),¹⁶ who read with him among others his *al-Munīr fī 't-Tafsīr*, *al-mu'ammar* Sayyid 'Alī b. 'Alī al-Habshī al-Madanī (1255-1353/1839-1934), and the aforementioned Meccan historian and *muhaddith*, 'Abd as-Sattār b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bakrī, were scholars of *al-Haramayn*. All three, later became teachers to al-Fādānī.¹⁷

Nawawī al-Bantānī was one of the most ubiquitous *Jāwī* authors who have numerous works attributed to him and is said to have written at least one hundred works.¹⁸ He wrote in both Arabic and Malay, having no less than twenty-eight titles in Arabic listed to his name.¹⁹ Among his works that were not listed by his biographer are his unpublished manuscript copy of the life history (*sīrah*) of the Prophet SAW entitled *al-Munā wa 's-Sūl fī Mawlid ar-Rasūl SAW*, and the aforementioned *ijāzah* which he wrote for 'Abd as-Sattār al-Bakrī.²⁰

As already mentioned, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal tells us that al-Falimbānī inclined towards Shūfism and directed most of his attention to studying and teaching al-Ghazālī's *al-Iḥyā*. He began to enjoin his students and colleagues to occupy themselves with this book and glorify its significance, and frequently highlighted its virtues and benefits. This is clearly noticeable in al-Bantānī himself as he only introduces his students to the works of Shūfīs with whom ethics predominates over the occult elements of mysticism, such as the works of al-Ghazālī. His moderate perception of Shūfism is further evident from his literary activity in his commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* entitled *Marāqī al-'Ubūdiyah Sharḥ 'alā Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, completed on 13 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1289/12 January 1873, and his commentary on Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malibārī's mystic poem entitled *Salālim al-Fudalā' 'alā al-Manzūmah al-musammāh Hidāyat al-Adhkīyā' ilā Tariq al-Awliyā'*, completed on 13 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1293/6 June 1876.²¹ In this commentary, al-Bantānī

provides a short biography of al-Malībārī telling us that he is Zayn ad-Dīn b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad ash-Shāfi'ī, born in Malabar, southern India, on a Thursday, 12 Sha'bān 871/19 March 1467. He was brought to Fanān at a very young age by his uncle Zayn ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad, where he later died on 16 Sha'bān 928/11 July 1522.²² It is worth noting that this Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malībārī is not to be confused with his grandson who carries the same name, Zayn ad-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malībārī ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 987/1579), renowned chiefly for his acclaimed Shāfi'ī *fiqh* work entitled *Faṭḥ al-Mu'īn bi-Sharḥ Qurrat al-'Ayn bi-Muḥīmmāt ad-Dīn*. In addition to his moderate *Sūfī* teachings, al-Bantanī does not counsel his students to join any *tariqah*; however, at the same time he does not prevent them from doing so.²³

It is also important to highlight that an-Nawawī was among the *Jāwī* intellectuals who showed their discontent with Dutch encroachment in the Malay Archipelago. His anti-Dutch sentiment is obvious from Snouck Hurgronje's account, as he relates that an-Nawawī rejoices in the difficulties caused by Aceh to the colonial Dutch Government, and in his conversation, disagrees with his compatriots who held that the *Jāwah* lands must necessarily be governed by Europeans. Snouck adds that the resurgence of an independent Islamic state, or restoration of the Banten sultanate, would be applauded joyously regardless whether the insurrection followed according to the Islamic Law or took the zealous fanatical approach. However, an-Nawawī did not seek a political role nor did he counsel such to others, and would never serve the infidel government even as *penghulu* (chieftain) as what was done by his father and brother.²⁴

The next student of al-Falimbānī in Mecca was the Egyptian 'Uthmān b. Ḥasan ad-Dimyāṭī ash-Shāfi'ī al-Azharī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī.²⁵ He was born and raised in Dimyāṭ, Egypt in 1197/1782 where he studied with its scholars.²⁶ One of his closest students, the Shāfi'ī *mufīd* of Mecca, Aḥmad b. Zaynī Dahlān (1231-1304/1815-86) regards him as "the seal of self-realized scholars and the gist of the pious who have attained their destination" (*khātimat al-'ulamā' al-muḥtaqqiṣīn wa-khulāṣat ahl Allāh al-wāṣilīn*). According to al-Kattānī, Dahlān later compiles his teacher's biography in a separate work; however, he did not provide us with the title.²⁷

'Uthmān ad-Dimyātī then moved to Cairo in 1212/1797 where he attended different circles held by leading scholars of al-Azhar at that time. It is important to observe his age when he moved to Cairo, as he was only fifteen at that time but was already equipped to pursue his advanced studies. In Cairo, he studied under a few notable teachers such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Arafah ad-Dasūqī al-Ashmūnī (d. 1230/1815), Muḥammad al-Mahdī (d. 1230/1815), Aḥmad ad-Damanhuī, al-Bakhātī, Ahmad at-Tahtāwī (d. 1231/1816), Ḥasan b. Darwīsh al-Quwaysīnī (d. 1254/1838), Muṣṭafā aṣ-Ṣafawī al-Qal'āwī ash-Shāfi'ī (1158-1230/1745-1815), from whom he received *ḥadīth al-awwaliyah*, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mansūr ash-Shanawānī (d. 1233/1817), Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr (1154-1232/1741-1816) and the 'Shaykh al-Islām' of Egypt, 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥijāzī b. Ibrāhīm ash-Sharqawī (1150-1227/1737-1812).²⁸

The last three scholars, ash-Shanawānī, al-Amīr al-Kabīr and ash-Sharqawī were students of prominent scholars of previous generations such as Muḥammad al-Hifnī, and on the other hand, were leading scholars of Egypt at the turn of the nineteenth century. Each of these three scholars authored the acclaimed *thabats*: al-Amīr al-Kabīr's *Thabat al-Amīr*, ash-Shanawānī's *ad-Durar as-Saniyyah* and ash-Sharqawī's *al-Jāmi' al-Hāwī*.²⁹ These three *thabats* became significant in authoritative transmissions of religious works and consequently most scholars of later generations mark them as referral points for their *isnāds*. According to al-Kattānī, 'Uthmān ad-Dimyātī who also possessed a *thabat* relates that he transmitted Islamic religious sciences generally from these three scholars linking his authority through their acclaimed *thabats*.³⁰

It appears that after completing his education in Egypt, later in his life 'Uthmān ad-Dimyātī migrated to Mecca or, in Aḥmad al-Haḍrawī's terms, he was *nazīl al-Haram* where he was very active in learning and teaching.³¹ On the account of his migration, 'Abd as-Sattār al-Bakrī reports that ad-Dimyātī travelled to Mecca in 1248/1832 after he received spiritual guidance in a dream. He adds that he was a fluent, eloquent and praiseworthy, leading, ascetic scholar and a *faqīh*, a *muḥaddith* and *mufassir* who was fond of solitude and avoided audience with the elite (*wa-kān faṣīḥān, balīghān, fāḍilān, rā'isān, zāhidān, faqīḥān, muḥaddithān, mufassirān, yuḥib al-'uzlah wa-'adam al-ijtīmā'* *bi*

'l-akābir). 'Uthmān ad-Dimyātī died in Mecca in 1265/1848 and was interred at al-Ma'lā burial ground.³²

From the dates of his travels, it is highly plausible that ad-Dimyātī only met al-Falimbānī in Mecca after 1248/1832. Further accounts on his early scholarship apparently indicate that ad-Dimyātī did not travel outside Egypt prior to this date. For instance, on *al-musalsal bi 'l-qasam bi-Allāh al-'Azīm* or the successive chain of the *ḥadīth* narrated on swearing by the Divine name, he relates that he received this *ḥadīth* from his teacher 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Aḥmad al-'Imādī al-Azharī in Egypt on Dhū al-Qa'dah 1207/June 1793.³³ Apparently, he was only ten when he started his *ḥadīth* studies. Later on, in al-Azhar in 1215/1801, he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-yawm al-'id* from al-Azharī.³⁴ 'Uthmān ad-Dimyātī also points out that he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-qirā'at Sūrat as-Saff* of the Qur'ān from 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Azharī, when he read him this chapter after the '*ishā'* (night) prayer at al-Azhar Mosque on 12 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1219/19 August 1804.³⁵

Among his leading students were the two successive Shāfi'i *muftīs* of Mecca who both died in Medina, his nephew Aḥmad ad-Dimyātī (d. 1270/1853), and Aḥmad Dahlān (d. 1304/1886), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khānī ad-Dimashqī and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Ḥasab Allāh (d. 1335/1916).³⁶ In addition, al-Fādānī furnished us with a list of students who studied with ad-Dimyātī including several *Jāwī* scholars. Among them, Sayyid 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aqīl b. Yaḥyā al-'Alawī al-Batāwī (1237-1331/1822-1913),³⁷ an Arab scholar who was born and died in Batavia (now Jakarta) and became its *muftī*, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Zakariyyā al-Kuningānī al-Jākartāwī, Muḥammad Khalīl b. 'Abd al-Latīf al-Jāwī al-Bankalānī al-Mādūrī, Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Latīf al-Khaṭīb al-Jāwī al-Minkābāwī (d. 1334/1916) and Zayn ad-Dīn b. Badawī al-Jāwī as-Ṣūmbāwī.³⁸ However, upon examining evidence for these scholars, I am doubtful that some of them were indeed his students. For instance, according to his biographer, Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Minkābāwī was born in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra in 1276/1860 and departed for Mecca at the age of eleven in 1287/1870.³⁹ Thus, it is hardly plausible that he was his student because at the time of ad-Dimyātī's death (1265/1848), al-Minkābāwī had not been born.

From ad-Dimyātī's *isnāds*, we can observe that among the subjects he studied with al-Falimbānī were *ḥadīth* such as Abū Dāwūd's *as-Sunan* and Ibn Mājah's *as-Sunan*; *fiqh* such as Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī's (d. 476/1083) *al-Muhadhdhab*; Arabic grammar such as al-Jurjānī's (d. 471/1078) *al-'Awāmil al-Mi'ah*, az-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1143) *Kitāb al-Muṣaṣṣal*, 'Iṣām ad-Dīn al-Isfīrā'īnī's (d. 943/1536) *Hāshiyat Sharḥ al-Jāmī 'alā 'I-Kāfiyah*, al-Haṭṭāb ar-Ru'aynī's (d. 954/1547) *Mutammimāt al-Ājrūmīyyah*, az-Zanjānī's (d. 655/1257) *at-Taṣrīf*, better known as *at-Taṣrīf al-'Izzī* and as-Suyūtī's *al-Muzhīr fī 'Ulūm al-Lugah wa-Anwā' iḥā*; on *ṭabaqāt* he studied ash-Sha'rānī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah*, and finally, he received the authority to transmit the *fiqh* works of ash-Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence (*sanad al-fiqh ash-Shāfi'ī*).⁴⁰

It is important to note the peculiarity of this *fiqh isnād* in that it includes leading scholars of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* and renowned authors of Shāfi'ī *fiqh* books from recent to earlier times. Among them, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ash-Shirwānī, Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī, 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqawī, Muḥammad al-Hifnī, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Ahmād an-Nakhlī, 'Abd al-'Azīz az-Zamzamī, Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābilī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, Shihāb ad-Dīn ar-Ramlī, al-Khaṭīb ash-Sharbīnī, 'Shaykh al-Islām' Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Mahallī, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Bulqīnī, Zayn ad-Dīn al-'Irāqī, 'Imām al-Madhhab' an-Nawawī, Abū 'Amr Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāh, 'Hujjat al-Islām' al-Ghazālī, Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī, Abū Ishāq al-Marwāzī, Ismā'īl al-Muzanī and finally Imām ash-Shāfi'ī. From the latter, it continues to include Imām Mālik, Rabī'ah, Nāfi' and the two companions Anas ^{radiallāhu 'anhu} and Ibn 'Umar ^{radiallāhu 'anhu} who received their instructions from the Prophet SAW.

It is also important to highlight that in this *isnād*, ad-Dimyātī relates that he "studied the Shāfi'ī *fiqh* books with 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqawī and Muḥammad ash-Shanawānī in Egypt, and with al-Falimbānī in Mecca" (*arwīhi 'an 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqawī wa Muḥammad ash-Shanawānī bi-Miṣr, wa-'an 'I-mu'ammār 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Falimbānī bi-Makkah*).⁴¹ In addition, it is worth noting that from ad-Dimyātī's *isnāds*, most of the books that he read with al-Falimbānī apart from *fiqh* were on grammar. This perhaps supports the conclusion that al-Falimbānī also mastered the grammar or Arabic language and that he was equally competent to teach it to his Arab students.

The next from the list of al-Falimbānī's students is 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Şubh b. İsmā'īl al-Jāwī al-Bīmāwī, mentioned earlier as a teacher of Nawawī al-Bantanī.⁴² All biographers of 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Bīmāwī agree that he was born in the Archipelago and later travelled to *al-Haramayn* to advance his studies, though no dates are provided.

In Mecca, he studied with learned noble scholars (*al-'ulamā' al-afādīl*) such as Sayyid Muḥammad (d. 1261/1845) and Sayyid Aḥmad (1205-81/1790-1864), the author of *Manzūmat 'Aqīdat al-'Awām*, sons of Ramaḍān b. Maṇṣūr al-Marzūqī, Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Qudsī (d. 1260/1844), the Shāfi'i *muftī* of Mecca and 'Uthmān b. Ḥasan ad-Dimyātī. After completing his studies, he was granted the license to teach in al-Harām Mosque that most *Jāwī 'ulamā'* of later generations graduated under him (*takharraja 'alayhi akthar 'ulamā' al-Jāwā*).⁴³

Among al-Bīmāwī's students were, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Jāwī Quds (d. 1334/1915),⁴⁴ Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Jāwī aş-Şūmbāwī, Maḥfūz b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī at-Tarmasī (d. 1338/1920), Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Marzūqī (d. 1365/1945), better known as Abū Ḥusayn, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mukhallalātī an Egyptian (d. 1362/1943), and Khalīfah b. Ḥamd an-Nabḥānī (d. 1320/1902).⁴⁵ In addition, 'Abd as-Sattār al-Bakrī also included another renowned *Jāwī* scholar who was the Qādiriyyah *Sūfī* shaykh among his students. He is Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī as-Sambasī (1217-89/1802-72) better known as Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, who migrated to Mecca at the age of nineteen in 1236/1820. It is worth noting that Khaṭīb Sambas also studied with earlier generations of Meccan professors such as the already mentioned Muḥammad Ṣalīḥ ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī, 'Umar 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Aṭṭār and 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Ujaymī and later generations, including 'Uthmān ad-Dimyātī and Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marzūqī.⁴⁶ Perhaps, it is Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas who was intended by al-Fādānī earlier when he mistakenly listed Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Minkābāwī as ad-Dimyātī's student, as both carry the same name and appellation. In addition, Khaṭīb Sambas period of study in Mecca coincided with that of ad-Dimyātī, therefore, it can be expected that he met and studied with him.

His biographer, 'Abd Allāh Mirdād (1285-1343/1868-1924) reported that al-Bīmāwī died in Mecca around 1270/1853 and was

buried at the Ma'lā cemetery. By contrast, Mamdūh tells us that al-Bīmāwī died in 1320/1902.⁴⁷ However, this is hardly plausible as Snouck Hurgronje relates that 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Bīmāwī was among scholars of the previous generation that had departed before he arrived in Mecca (1884-85).⁴⁸ Though al-Bīmāwī's year of birth is unknown, from his *isnāds*, he was reported to have been a *mu'ammar* (long-lived) who survived over a hundred years.⁴⁹ Thus, by calculating backwards, we can deduce that he must have been born around the mid of the eighteenth century approximately in 1170/1756, hence, very plausible to have been a student of al-Falimbānī.

Among the books that al-Bīmāwī read with al-Falimbānī were, *Sahīh Muslim* and al-'Ajlūnī's *Tqd al-Jawhar ath-Thamīn*, on *hadīth*, Bā-Fadl's *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥadramiyyah* on *fiqh*. On Arabic grammar, he read the work of the celebrated grammarian, Sibawayh's (d. 180/796) *Kitāb Sibawayh* and Ibn 'Aqil's (d. 769/1367) commentary on the acclaimed *al-Alfiyyah* of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273).⁵⁰ Perhaps, further details of his teachers and the subjects he studied with them can be found in his *thabat* entitled *al-Hāwī fī Asānīd al-Bīmāwī*.⁵¹ However, unfortunately, even after extensive search, I find no manuscript or printed edition of this work.

Rather special amongst al-Falimbānī's students was his own daughter, Fāṭimah bint 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbāniyyah.⁵² Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any account of her life from our numerous Arabic biographical dictionaries. Nevertheless, by analysing her scholarly connections, it is apparent that she was one of the active scholars of the period, at least among the *Jāwīs*. She studied mostly with her father and became primarily acquainted with *hadīth* study and was given the honorific title 'ash-Shaykhah al-Musnidah.' This appellation perhaps finds support in Fāṭimah al-Falimbāniyyah's own *thabat*, entitled *al-Fahāris al-Qā'imah fī Asānīd Fāṭimah*.⁵³ According to Mamdūh, the *al-Fahāris al-Qā'imah* was dictated by al-Falimbāniyyah in Mecca to one of her closest students, Muḥammad Arshad b. As'ad al-Bantānī a.k.a. Arshad aṭ-Ṭawīl (literarily, the tall Arshad).⁵⁴

Arshad aṭ-Ṭawīl was born in Manis, Banten on 18 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1255/22 January 1840. Upon his father's request, at the age of eight he was brought to *al-Ḥaramayn* in 1263/1846 to live with him in Mecca. On

his arrival, under the guidance of his father, he received the *ijāzah* from 'Uthmān ad-Dimyātī, the aforementioned student of al-Falimbānī. Arshad at-Tawīl also studied with Nawawī al-Bantānī, the already mentioned student of al-Falimbānī and as we shall see shortly, was a student of his daughter Fātimah.⁵⁵

On his return to Banten in 1311/1893, accused of his involvement in the political unrest, Arshad was detained by the Dutch and exiled to Manado, Makassar. He attempted in vain to return to Mecca and Banten and later died in exile on the 4 Dhū al-Hijjah 1353/10 March 1935 at the age of ninety-eight. Arshad at-Tawīl is reported to have compiled a list of his teachers in his *thabat* entitled *ath-Thabat al-Kabīr* and because of his *al-isnād al-'ālī* and his prolonged life, later generations who were heedful of the nature of his extremely high narration (*rīwāyatuhu 'āliyah jiddan*) flocked to study with him.⁵⁶

Apart from Arshad at-Tawīl, al-Falimbāniyyah students also included Nawawī al-Bantānī who read with her *Šahīh al-Bukhārī*, Ahmad ad-Dimyātī the aforementioned Shāfi'i *muftī* in Mecca, Muhammad Nūr b. Ismā'il al-Minkābāwī and Muhammad Azharī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī, the author of *Badī' az-Zamān fī Bayān 'Aqā'id 'l-Imān*.⁵⁷ The latter read with her two works of Arabic grammar, Ibn Hishām's (d. 761/1359) *Awqāf al-Masālik ilā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik*, better known as *at-Tawdīh* and *Mughnī al-Labīb 'an Kutub al-A'ārīb*.⁵⁸ Fātimah al-Falimbāniyyah in turn studied all these works with her father al-Falimbānī.

The next student of al-Falimbānī, 'Abd al-Mannān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad al-Jāwī at-Tarmasī (d. 1278/1862),⁵⁹ was the grandfather of Muhammad Maḥfūz b. 'Abd Allāh at-Tarmasī (1285-1338/1868-1920). Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī himself was a noted *Jāwī* scholar of a later period, especially in *fiqh* and *hadīth* that al-Fādānī describes him as '*al-muhaddith al-musnid al-faqīh*'.⁶⁰ Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī's list of teachers and the works that he read with them are listed in his acclaimed *thabat* entitled *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*.⁶¹

Though no biographical notice of 'Abd al-Mannān is available from our Arabic biographical dictionaries, his *isnād* shows that he was a noted scholar who formed part of the scholarly networks and played an important role in transmitting the Islamic traditions to later generations.

One of his closest students was his son, 'Abd Allāh at-Tarmasī (d. 1314/1896) who in turn was a teacher and a prop (*'umda*) to his son, Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī. Thus, one can see through 'Abd al-Mannān that the teachings of al-Falimbānī is handed down further to later generations.

'Abd al-Mannān at-Tarmasī studied with al-Falimbānī *ḥadīth* books such as *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ad-Dārquṭnī's (d. 385/995) *Sunan*, an-Nawawī's *al-Arba'ūn* and *Riyāḍ as-Ṣāliḥīn*. On *tafsīr* he studied al-Baydāwī's (d. 685/1286) *Anwār at-Tanzīl*, better known as *Tafsīr al-Baydāwī*; on *fiqh*, ash-Sharbīnī's (d. 977/1569) *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj*; on *balāghah* (rhetoric) he studied at-Taftāzānī's (d. 791/1388) *Mukhtasar al-Ma'ānī 'alā Talkhiṣ al-Miftāḥ* and *al-Muṭawwal fī Sharḥ Talkhiṣ al-Miftāḥ*. However, by looking at the number of books he studied with al-Falimbānī, it is probable that at-Tarmasī only met him in the last years of his life.

In addition to studying with al-Falimbānī, 'Abd al-Mannān at-Tarmasī also studied *fiqh* with Sayyid Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Shaṭā ad-Dimyātī al-Makkī (d. 1266/1849) and the 'Shaykh al-Azhar' Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bājūrī (1198-1277/1783-1860).⁶² Both in turn were students of earlier generations of leading Egyptian scholars such as 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqāwī and al-Amīr al-Kabīr.

Another student of al-Falimbānī was Ṣāliḥ b. 'Umar as-Samārānī (1235-1321/1820-1903),⁶³ who among younger *Jāwī 'ulamā'*, was given the sobriquet of *al-Ghazālī as-Ṣaghīr* (the little or young al-Ghazālī).⁶⁴ However, in the Malay Archipelago he is better known as Ṣāliḥ Darat. He was born in Jepara, in the province of Central Java, Indonesia where he was raised by his father 'Umar who was a religious scholar. According to local oral tradition, 'Umar was one of the '*ulamā'* who supported the Javanese Prince Diponegoro in his uprising against the Dutch colonial rule. Diponegoro played an important role in the Java War (1825-30). However, he was defeated in 1830 and the Dutch exiled him to Makassar.⁶⁵

After Diponegoro's defeat, 'Umar took his son Ṣāliḥ to Singapore, thence Mecca, where Ṣāliḥ stayed several years studying. He was called back to Java by Murtadlo (Murtadā), a companion of his father in the Diponegoro rebellion, who made him his son-in-law. Ṣāliḥ as-Samārānī was renowned for his anti-Dutch attitude, taught his students to avoid

the Dutch as much as possible, and warned against imitating their ways. He established a *pesantren* in Darat, a mostly Arab-inhabited neighbourhood of Semarang, where he was to spend the rest of his life. He died in Semarang, Central Java on Friday, 28 Ramadān 1321/18 December 1903.⁶⁶

Şālih as-Samārānī had numerous disciples, some of whom became the leading 'ulamā' of the turn of the century. Among them were his son 'Umar as-Samārānī, a *faqīh* and *muhaddith*, and the aforementioned Muhammad Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī, who studied with him among others, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, ash-Sharqāwī's commentary on *al-Hikam*, *Wasīlat at-Tullāb* [*lī-Ma'rīfat A'māl al-Layl wa 'n-Nahār bi-Tarīq al-Hisāb*], and al-Māradīnī's (d. 804/1401) commentary on *ar-Rubu' al-Mujayyab*, both works on *'ilm al-falak* (astronomy).⁶⁷

It is not exactly known when Şālih as-Samārānī met al-Falimbānī, but from the report of his travel to Mecca at a very young age, it is almost certain that he must have met him after 1245/1830. Among the works he studied with al-Falimbānī were *Şālih al-Bukhārī*, Ibn Taymiyyah's (d. 653/1255) *Muntaqā al-Akhbār*, ash-Shāfi'i (d. 204/820) *al-Umm*, ar-Rāfi'i's (d. 623/1226) *Faṭḥ al-'Azīz Sharḥ al-Wajīz*, an-Nawawī's *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū'* *Sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab*, and *al-İdāh* [*fī Manāsik al-Hajj wa 'l-'Umrah*], al-İsfirā'inī's (d. 943/1536) *al-Atwal Sharḥ Talkhiṣ Miftāh al-'Uhūm* and *Sharḥ al-Isti'ārāt*, al-Himṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Hāshiyah Sharḥ al-Fākihī 'alā 'l-Qatr*, Badr ad-Dīn al-'Aynī's (d. 855/1451) two commentaries on *ash-Shawāhid*, ash-Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī's (d. 832/1429) *Tawārikh Makkah*, *Shifā' al-Gharām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Haram*, and *al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*, and Tāj ad-Dīn Ibn as-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) *Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyah*. In turn, he teaches all these works to his son 'Umar.⁶⁸

It is also important to emphasise that al-Falimbānī did not just attract students of his younger compatriots, but also his own generation. According to al-Fādānī's *isnāds*, his contemporary, Arshad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Banjārī al-Martapurī (1122-1227/1710-1812)⁶⁹ also studied numerous works with him.⁷⁰ Arshad al-Banjārī himself is certainly one of the important *Jāwī* scholars in the twelfth century A.H./eighteenth century A.D. who achieved local fame throughout the Malay

Archipelago. He is chiefly known for his acclaimed *fiqh* work entitled *Sabil al-Muhtadīn li 't-Tafṣīqūh fī Amr ad-Dīn*.

Apparently, al-Banjārī studied various Islamic disciplines, reading numerous books with al-Falimbānī. These include works on *hadīth*, such as *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; on *tafsīr*, such as Abū al-Barakāt an-Nasafī's (d. 710/1310) *Maṭārīk at-Tanzīl* and Ibn Kathīr's *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm*; on *tawhīd*, such as at-Tahāwī's *al-'Aqīdah at-Tahāwiyyah*; on '*ulūm al-Qur'ān*', such as az-Zarkashī's *al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*; on '*ulūm al-hadīth*', such as an-Nawawī's *at-Taqrīb wa 't-Taysīr* and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Nuzhat an-Naẓar Sharḥ an-Nukhbah*; on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, he studied ash-Shirāzī's (d. 476/1083) *al-Lūma'* and Imām al-Haramayn al-Juwainī's (d. 478/1085) *al-Waraqāt*; on *fiqh*, he studied al-Ghazālī's *al-Wajīz*, an-Nawawī's *al-Mīnāj*, *al-Majmū'* *Sharḥ al-Muhaḍhhab*, and *al-Idāh*, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's (d. 926/1520) *at-Taḥrīr*, *Manhaj at-Tullāb*, *Asnā al-Maṭālib fī Sharḥ Rawḍ at-Tālib* and *al-Ghurar al-Bahīyyah fī Sharḥ Manzūmat al-Bahīyah*, al-Qalyūbī's (d. 1069/1658) *Hāshiyah Sharḥ al-Mahallī 'alā 'l-Mīnāj*; on Arabic, he read Ibn Hishām's *Awḍah al-Masālik* and *Mughnī al-Labīb*, Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Hāshiyah at-Taṣrīh 'alā 't-Tawdīh*, al-Ashmūnī's (d. 929/1522) *Sharḥ al-Ashmūnī 'alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik*, Ibn Ājrūm aṣ-Ṣanhājī's (d. 723/1323) *al-Ājrūmiyyah* and al-Fayrūzābādī's (d. 818/1415) *al-Qāmūs*; on biography, studied Ibn al-Farrā'ī's (d. 458/1065) *Tabaqāt al-Hanābilah*.⁷¹

Thus, these lists also indicate al-Falimbānī's prominent position as a scholar of great importance in transmitting the religious sciences to his compatriots and his influence to both his students and contemporaries. In addition to studying with al-Falimbānī, al-Banjārī participated him in attending his teachers' teaching sessions. For instance, al-Banjārī follows him studying with some of his earlier mentioned teachers, such as Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Murtadā az-Zabīdī.⁷² Furthermore, al-Banjārī also studied with al-Falimbānī's student, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal.⁷³ It is important to note that al-Ahdal, born in 1179/1766 was a much younger contemporary of al-Banjārī. However, as we shall see shortly, al-Ahdal became a prominent Zabīd scholar at a very young age and that students flocked to study with him.

As already mentioned, unlike later *Jāwī* scholars, biographical notices of al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* contemporaries are extremely rare in Arabic biographical dictionaries. However, occasionally their life report is incidentally mentioned in biographical notices of later generations. For instance, on the biography of 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mahmūd b. Muḥammad Arshad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Banjārī (1285-1370/1868-1951), Mamdūh points out that he was the great grandson of Arshad al-Banjārī. He tells us that the latter came from Borneo and dwelled in the vicinity of Mecca in 1191/1777 after his extensive travels to Egypt, Yemen and others. He was survived by his numerous progenies who were renowned for their 'ilm, uprightness (*salāh*) and etiquette (*ādāb*) and among them, 'Alī al-Banjārī.⁷⁴

Apparently, Arshad al-Banjārī also studied in Medina with 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān as he himself, like al-Falimbānī, was also appointed as his *khalīfah* for the Sammāniyyah *Sūfī* Order. He later promulgated the Sammāniyyah Order in his hometown and was an important transmitting agent who popularized the Order in Banjar.⁷⁵

At this point, it is important to point out that according to al-Fādānī, Nawawī al-Bantanī also studied with Arshad al-Banjārī as well as his son, Yūsuf al-Banjārī. However, based on my investigation, it is hardly plausible that al-Bantanī did study with him because at the time of Arshad al-Banjārī's death (1227/1812), he had not yet been born (1230/1814). Nevertheless, perhaps the name of Yūsuf al-Banjārī was erroneously removed from the *isnād* and made it appear that an-Nawawī studied directly with Arshad al-Banjārī.⁷⁶

Another close student of 'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī was Maḥmūd b. Kinān b. Maḥmūd al-Falimbānī.⁷⁷ According to al-Fādānī, he was *mua'mmar* (long lived) who survived more than ninety years and was a jurist and a religious person (*al-faqīh al-'ābid*).⁷⁸

Though I have not found any biographical sources that can tell us about his life, the fact that numerous *isnāds* include him as a student of al-Falimbānī show us that he was one of his closest students. Perhaps Maḥmūd was even closer to al-Falimbānī than the earlier mentioned Nawawī al-Bantanī himself. This is because apart from studying with al-Falimbānī, Maḥmūd also studied directly with some of his teachers who include Murtadā az-Zabīdī, 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydarūs,

Amr Allāh b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'ī, Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī and Muḥammad b. Sālim as-Saflārīnī.⁷⁹ In turn, al-Bantanī included Maḥmūd among the *Jāwī* teachers with whom he studied.⁸⁰

It is important to point out that Maḥmūd also studied with younger contemporaries of al-Falimbānī such as his Yemeni student, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, al-Ahdal's student, Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, Muḥammad al-Fuḍālī (d. 1236/1820), 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqāwī and Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī.⁸¹ Further analysing al-Falimbānī's scholarly links with these scholars by tracing their dates of birth, it is clear that they were his younger contemporaries. In fact, if they were to be placed accordingly within the context of their age group, all of them were appropriately positioned as the generation of al-Falimbānī's students. Moreover, since Maḥmūd studied with them as well as with al-Falimbānī and some of his later teachers, he must have been his younger contemporary.

In addition, as already mentioned in passing, Maḥmūd also studied with the ruler of Palembang, as-Sultān aş-Ṣāliḥ Badr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. as-Sultān Mansūr b. as-Sultān 'Abd ar-Rahmān, who in turn studied with his Qādī, known as *Shaykh al-Islām Qādī as-Saltanah* Sayyid 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. 'Alawī b. Ahmad al-'Aydarūs al-Falimbānī. Al-'Aydarūs in turn studied in Mecca with 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Jād Allāh al-Bannānī al-Maghribī (d. 1198/1784), who was a student of Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī; an Egyptian teacher of 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī.⁸² It appears that Maḥmūd's father, to some degree, was a religious teacher. According to al-Fādānī, he studied the *Sunan at-Tirmidhī* with his father, Abū al-Az̄hār Tāj al-Umanā' Shaykh Kinān b. Maḥmūd al-Falimbānī, who in turn studied with Ṣāliḥ, who in turn studied with his brother, 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī.⁸³ Looking at this *isnād*, it is again evident that Maḥmūd was a younger contemporary to 'Abd aş-Şamad himself since 'Āqib was his direct teacher.

It is clear that Maḥmūd later became a transmitter of the teachings of 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī as he teaches them to his students. Among his students other than Nawawī al-Bantanī, were his son 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Falimbānī, Khalīl b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Bankalānī al-Madūrī and 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Zayn ad-Dīn al-Faṭānī.⁸⁴ It is worth noting that the latter's

father, Zayn ad-Dīn b. 'Abd ar-Rahīm b. 'Abd al-Latīf al-Fatānī was a student of Murtadā az-Zabīdī and Dāwūd al-Fatānī.⁸⁵ Not only was Maḥmūd a transmitter for various religious Islamic sciences to the next generations, he played a crucial role in disseminating the Khalwatiyyah Sammāniyyah Ṣūfī Order further in the Archipelago. As indicated in the previous chapter, according to the *silsilah* recorded in a manuscript copy of *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, Maḥmūd received his membership to this Order from 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī, and he in turn initiated his student, Sulaymān of Lambirah, Aceh into this Order.⁸⁶ Thus, it is clear that al-Falimbānī's teachings and his influence, especially in Ṣūfism were handed down from generations to generations through his students.

Another Arab scholar included among al-Falimbānī's student is Sayyid Jarjis Afandī b. Aḥmad Darwīsh al-Kāzīmī al-Mawṣili (from Mosul, Iraq).⁸⁷ My research on Jarjis Afandī in several biographical dictionaries of the period leads to three scholars having the same name; Jarjis al-Mawṣili, a poet who died in Mosul in 1140 or 1141/1727 or 1728,⁸⁸ Jarjis al-Irbilī, who was reported to have been alive in 1178/1764,⁸⁹ and Jarjis al-Jawharī al-Qibṭī known as Jarjis Afandī who died in Egypt in 1225/1810.⁹⁰ However, from the period he lived, the first Jarjis al-Mawṣili could not possibly be al-Falimbānī's students as his time was too early. And unfortunately, all biographers in their short biographical notice of the other two remaining scholars, Jarjis al-Irbilī and Jarjis Afandī, do not provide us with any information on their teachers or students that may assist us to examine their scholarly links in that period and establish possible connection with al-Falimbānī.

Conversely, further analysing several *isnāds* of Jarjis al-Mawṣili, none of the above aforementioned three scholars suit his sketch. Moreover, both al-Fādānī and his student Mukhtār al-Falimbānī indicated that Sayyid Jarjis al-Mawṣili died in 1197/1782, and unlike the latter, I noticed that none of the previous mentioned scholars was of a Sayyid descendant.⁹¹ According to al-Fādānī, Jarjis al-Mawṣili recorded a list of his teachers in his *thabat* entitled *Zahr an-Narjis fi Thabat al-'Allāmah Jarjis*. Among them, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammānī, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'ī, 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Zayn al-Mizjājī, Sulaymān b. Yahyā al-Ahdal az-Zabīdī, Hāmid b. 'Umar al-Manfar at-Tarīmī (d. 1209/1794), and two *Jāwī* scholars,

‘Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī *nazīl* Medina, and ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Rahmān al-Falimbānī *nazīl* Mecca.⁹² Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate the *Zahr an-Narjis* and even al-Kattānī has not mentioned this work in his *Fahras al-Fahāris*. Perhaps, we could find further information on *Jāwī* scholars during that time from this work. In addition, Jarjis al-Mawṣilī also studied Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī’s *at-Ta’arruf ilā ‘Ilmay al-Uṣūl wa ‘t-Taṣrīf* and Bā-Fadl’s *al-Muqaddimah al-Haḍramiyyah* with Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (1140-1213/1727-98).⁹³ Thus, by looking at all the above scholars who were mainly al-Falimbānī’s teachers and peers, Jarjis al-Mawṣilī must have been his contemporary.

In addition, Jarjis al-Mawṣilī close relations with the *Jāwī* scholars can perhaps be deduced from one of his *isnād*. His son Sayyid Khiḍr Afandi al-Mawṣilī, a *muhaddith* who studied directly with him was reported to have migrated to, and died in Batavia.⁹⁴ It is perhaps from his acquaintance with the *Jāwī* scholars and community in *al-Haramayn* that later facilitate the migration of his son to the Archipelago. It is worth noting that his grandson, Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ma’būd Afandi al-Mawṣilī who received his teachings from Khiḍr al-Mawṣilī, also form part of the scholarly networks transmitting the Islamic knowledge further to later generations.⁹⁵

As I had shown earlier, because of his highly revered status as a profound scholar of various Islamic disciplines, al-Falimbānī attracted both Arab students and his compatriots to study with him, to an extent that even his peer, Arshad al-Banjārī, studied with him. Thus, it is more than plausible to consider that most of his younger *Jāwī* contemporaries, if not all, must have studied with him or at least attended his teaching sessions.

On further examining the period during which al-Falimbānī lived, there were several younger *Jāwī* students who at the turn of the nineteenth century became prominent scholars, at least among the *Jāwīs*. Among them, were Nafīs al-Banjārī and Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, who was perhaps the most widely renowned *Jāwī ‘ulamā’* in the Archipelago because of his prolific writings.

In his *ad-Durr an-Nafīs fī Bayān Wahdat al-Afāl wa ‘l-Asmā’ wa ‘s-Sifāt wa ‘dh-Dhāt, Dhāt at-Taqdīs*, Nafīs al-Banjārī (1148-1245/1735-

1829)⁹⁶ provides us with a rather detailed depiction of himself. He says, "the author and compiler of this epistle [the *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*] ... Muhammad Nafīs b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn al-Banjārī *mansha'an* [by origin or birth] al-Makkī *maskanan* [by domicile] ash-Shāfi'i *madhaban* [by doctrine] al-Ash'arī *i'tiqādān* [by dogma] al-Junaydī *imāman*, al-Qādirī *tariqātān*, ash-Shaṭārī *libāsan*, an-Naqshabandī *'amalan*, al-Khalwatī *maṭ'aman*, wa 's-Sammānī *mashrabān* [express that he was an adherent to all these five *Sūfi* Orders]."⁹⁷

Contemporary studies are in agreement that Nafīs al-Banjārī was a friend and colleague of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, however, this research suggests that he was most likely his student as well.⁹⁸ Nafīs al-Banjārī relates that he completed his *ad-Durr an-Nafīs* in Mecca on the '*ishā'* of Wednesday, 27 Muḥarram 1200/30 November 1785.⁹⁹ Although the discussion of al-Falimbānī's works follows shortly in the next chapter, at this stage it is important to highlight that his active literary life extended from 1178/1764 to 1203/1788. Thus, by the time al-Falimbānī was about to conclude his literary output, al-Banjārī, to the contrary, had just begun, two decades after al-Falimbānī started his. This evidence alone indicates that Nafīs al-Banjārī was a much younger contemporary of al-Falimbānī. One can conclude that he was most likely part of the same circle, and as we shall see, had studied with a number of al-Falimbānī's peers.

In his *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, Nafīs al-Banjārī records several teachers he had studied with such as 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥijāzī ash-Sharqāwī al-Miṣrī, Yūsuf Abū Dhurrah Arzī al-Miṣrī, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madānī, 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghribī al-'Umari, and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jawharī, whose lecture he attended at al-Ḥarām Mosque, Mecca in 1201/1786.¹⁰⁰ On one occasion, he refers to a Pattani shaykh as 'Shaykh Quṭb ad-Dīn' (religious pole) which, in my opinion, refers to Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, although more research needs to be done to accurately verify this attribution.

Analyzing the names of his teachers above, we can see that he did not meet and study directly with Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, as he first studied under a number of his senior students and secondly, he addresses him as his teachers' teacher (*shaykh shuyūkhīnā*).¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the teachers Nafīs al-Banjārī listed in his works suggest that

he only studied with scholars who are from al-Falimbānī's generation or later.

The next *Jāwī* scholar mentioned above was Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Fatānī (1176-1263/1763-1846).¹⁰² His early life and movements are difficult to trace, as was the case of al-Falimbānī himself. The works of Shaghir Abdullah attempt to illuminate this aspect of his life. However, as previously discussed, his study suffers from a number of inconsistencies.¹⁰³ Some of these will be discussed below. According to Matheson and Hooker, his education followed a similar pattern as did other *Jāwī* scholars of the period, beginning most likely at home before progressing to local centres of Islamic learning in the Malay Archipelago. It is highly likely that Dāwūd al-Fatānī was taught by '*ulamā'* from *al-Haramayn* or Yemen while he was still in Pattani.¹⁰⁴ His earliest dated work, *Idāh al-Bāb li-Murīd an-Nikāh bi 's-Šawāb* was completed in Mecca on Monday, 9 Rabī' al-Awwal 1224/24 April 1809 and his latest, *al-Bahjat al-Mardīyyah fī 'Udhri Takhaluf al-Ma'mūm 'an 'l-Imām Thalāthat Arkān Tawilah*, also in Mecca on Tuesday, 14 Shawwāl 1259/7 November 1843.¹⁰⁵

Pattani, located on the Malay Peninsula, with the coast of the Gulf of Thailand in the north, was an independent Malay Muslim sultanate ruling a large portion of the surrounding region until the sixteenth century when it became a vassal state of Siam (now Thailand). Following the rebellions within Pattani against Siamese rule in 1791 and 1808, Pattani was divided into seven largely autonomous states: Pattani, Nongchik, Saiburi (Teluban), Yala (Jala), Yaring (Jambu), Ra-ngae (Legeh) and Reman; all were ruled by the King of Ligor.¹⁰⁶

Dāwūd al-Fatānī must have left Pattani for Mecca in the late eighteenth century, a time of upheaval when the Siamese Empire was responding harshly to rebellions instigated by the Malays in the south. In Mecca, he would have become part of the *Jāwī* student community who had come to seek '*ilm*' from the great '*ulamā*' of that time. One such '*ālim*' was 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī himself. As we will see later, from his work *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, it is evident that al-Falimbānī was already engaged in teaching before the latter part of the eighteenth century, as in this work he lists numerous *Sūfī* writings suitable for students, structuring them to match their varied abilities. Therefore, it is highly likely that Dāwūd

al-Fatānī would have attended the teaching sessions of this famous *Jāwī 'ālim*, particularly when we observe Snouck Hurgronje's comment that the *Jāwī* students preferred to study with their own compatriots, at least during the initial establishment in *al-Haramayn*.¹⁰⁷

According to al-Fādānī, Dāwūd al-Fatānī was a student of Sulaymān al-Ahdal (1137-97/1724-82), a contemporary of al-Falimbānī; his father Yaḥyā and his son 'Abd ar-Rahmān, were both teacher and student of al-Falimbānī respectively.¹⁰⁸ If Dāwūd al-Fatānī was born in 1133/1720 as Abdullah claimed,¹⁰⁹ then he would have been a direct contemporary of al-Falimbānī. If this was the case, questions can be asked as to why he did not accompany him to study in Zabīd in 1147/1734 under the shaykh who was considered the '*imām ahl zamānih*,' the *imām* of his time, due to his prestige in all disciplines of Islamic learning. This was Yaḥyā al-Ahdal. Furthermore, the fact that Dāwūd al-Fatānī studied with Sulaymān al-Ahdal confirms he spent time in Zabīd, since the latter only travelled to Mecca to perform *hajj* in 1167/1753.¹¹⁰ Thus, he must have been born at least around 1153/1740 as Azra suggests because he was unable to study with Aḥmad Maqbūl al-Ahdal, al-Falimbānī's second and main teacher, who died in 1167.

On the *Šūfi tarīqah*, it is evident that Dāwūd al-Fatānī adhered to the Shāttāriyyah Order. This, for instance, is reflected in numerous works by him mentioning this Order over others. He points out that *kayfiyyat adh-dhikr* (method of remembrance) differs from one Order to another and follows by mentioning only the *kayfiyyah* according to the Shāttāriyyah Order, quoting *al-‘arif bi ‘l-Allāh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī* as the authority.¹¹¹

From my examination of some of his unpublished works, it is clear that he was familiar with the works of preceding *Šūfi* scholars from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For instance, in two short epistles answering questions on mysticism, which he wrote in Mecca on 7 Ramadān 1233/11 July 1818 and a week later, on 15 Ramadān/19 July respectively, he quotes as authoritative sources, al-Burhānpūrī's (d. 1029/1619) *at-Tuhfah al-Mursalah*, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī's (d. 1071/1661) *Qasd as-Sabil* and 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī's (d. 1143/1731) epistle on *wahdat al-wujūd*.¹¹² It is important to mention at this point that it may well have been al-Falimbānī who introduced most of these works to Dāwūd

al-Fatānī, being the grand-disciple of an-Nābulusī himself and due to his prominent position among the *Jāwī* community in *al-Haramayn*.

Al-Falimbānī in Zabīd

Undoubtedly, the best-known of al-Falimbānī's students was his Yemeni disciple 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, whom we have already frequently mentioned earlier. This is due to several reasons; firstly, because he was the only student whose relationship with al-Falimbānī bears a detailed account. Secondly, this account was written directly by al-Ahdal himself and not by any third party. Thirdly, al-Ahdal, in his own right, was a prominent scholar of his generation who assumed the highest religious office in Zabīd. Fourthly, because he was one of the most ubiquitous scholars of this period, not only can we find his biographical notices from various sources, but we can easily trace his scholarly networks from various *isnād* works in numerous sources written either by his contemporaries and later generations. Finally, in addition to all of the above, we already know the strong and close connections that al-Falimbānī had established with al-Ahdal family, as he himself studied with them and they were probably his main teachers and mentors in Zabīd. Thus, it is not surprising that he came back to Zabīd after he in turn became a prominent scholar; and that he was received with high regards, especially by al-Ahdal family.

Wajīh ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Sulaymān b. Yahya b. 'Umar al-Ahdal was born in Zabīd in Dhū al-Qa'dah 1179/April 1766.¹¹³ His genealogy, as I have shown earlier in the discussion of his grandfather Yahyā, is traced back to Ḥusayn b. 'Alī رض, the grandson of the Prophet SAW. As the al-Ahdal family was well established for their stature and renowned for their scholarship, one can expect that 'Abd ar-Rahmān need not travel to gain knowledge, especially since his own father Sulaymān and his grandfather before him, were *muftīs* of Zabīd. He received his rudimentary and advanced learning chiefly from his father, and he in turn became a prominent scholar of his time. This is corroborated by Ṣiddīq al-Qannūjī (1248-1307/1832-89), who considered himself one of his students by way of *al-ijāzah al-āmmah li-ahl al-'asr*. He describes 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal as "an *imām, faqīh*, the great *hadīth* authority,

exegete, jurist who had the knowledge of the rational and traditional sciences, and who was unparalleled among his peers.”¹¹⁴

In addition to this testimony, it is evident that ‘Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal was a scholar of extraordinary ability. After his father’s death in 1197/1782, due to his profound erudition, intellectual distinction and competency, and no doubt due to the position of his family, he was appointed to the office of *muftī* when he was only eighteen years of age.¹¹⁵ Thus, he was a third generation *muftī* of al-Ahdal house. Indeed, most of his sons, nephews and grandchildren later occupied the post of *muftī* of Zabīd in continuous succession.¹¹⁶

‘Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal remained the *muftī* of Zabīd for fifty-three years until he died on 21 Ramadān 1250/21 January 1835 in that city at the age of seventy-one. In 1263/1846, his contemporary and student Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh Suhayl al-Yamānī az-Zabīdī, compiled his biography in a small epistle entitled *Faṣl ar-Rahmān fī Manāqib Sīdī ‘Abd ar-Rahmān b. Sulaymān*.¹¹⁷ However, after an extensive search, I have not found any manuscript or published copy of this work.

Perhaps one of al-Ahdal’s most noted works was his *thabat*, a compilation of his teachers entitled *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*. In this respect, al-Kattānī remarks that “his *an-Nafas* was among the most precious works ever written, the best ever compiled in the past century for it includes extensive narrations and ‘uhw al-*isnād*, combining together Meccan, Indian, Khurāsānī, Yemeni, Maghribī and Egyptian scholars” (*nafasuhu hādhā min anfas mā ulla wa-arfa’ mā ṣunnifī ‘l-qarn al-munṣarim, ittisā’ riwāyah wa-‘uhw isnād, wa-ḍhamma al-makkī li ‘l-hindī, al-khurāsānī li ‘l-yamānī, wa ‘l-maghribī li ‘l-miṣrī*).¹¹⁸ In addition to al-Kattānī’s remark, one can see from examining *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* itself that it is one of the most significant sources for the history of Islamic intellectual networks from the eighteenth century, with Zabīd as its centrepoint. This is because al-Ahdal did not merely list his teachers, their teachers and the works he studied with them as is customary with other *thabats*. Rather, he extensively provides us with succinct biographical notices, thirty-six to be exact, including thirteen visiting scholars to Zabīd, making this work on its own merit, a rich biographical source for the study of eighteenth century Muslim scholars.

Looking at al-Ahdal's teachers in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, al-Kattānī commented that since fourteen of them were also teachers of Murtadā az-Zabīdī and al-Ahdal himself lived almost fifty years after az-Zabīdī's death, it is obvious that "he was the last important scholar and the most sought after in the [Islamic] world due to his 'ulūw al-isnād, abundant prestige, far reaching reputation and profound knowledge" (*khātimat man yurḥal ilayhim fī 'd-dunya li-'ulūw isnādihī wa-wāfir jāhihī wa-bu'd ṣūtihi wa-kabīr 'ilmih*).¹¹⁹

At this point, it is worth noting that, al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas* contains the first biographical notice in Arabic literature on a *Jāwī* scholar, in this case, 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī. It is an illustration of the importance of this genre for the study of scholarly relations and interaction between the Malay and the Arab worlds. This applies in particular to works of Yemeni scholars because we know that most of the *Jāwī 'ulamā'* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī and Yūsuf al-Maqassārī, all studied in Yemen during their early scholarship before we eventually find them in *al-Haramayn*. However, it is important to remember that al-Falimbānī's biographical account was included in this work because, from al-Ahdal's point of view, he was one of the thirteen scholars from the *tabaqat al-wāfiḍān*, or visiting professors who taught in Zabīd and whom he regarded highly. This evidence itself stands alone to indicate that al-Falimbānī in the *Jāwī* scholarly context, was particularly prominent in Arab eyes.

'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal specifically mentioned in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* that he studied al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* with his teacher 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī and upon his request, al-Falimbānī granted him a lengthy *ijāzah* written in his own hand.¹²⁰ Unfortunately, he did not include or tell us the content of this *ijāzah*, which would have helped us further in understanding al-Falimbānī's intellectual standing. His *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* remains one of the most crucial sources for al-Falimbānī's biography despite lacking important details. For instance, al-Ahdal does not tell us the duration of al-Falimbānī's sojourn in Zabīd, his age or date of birth or death. Nor does he list his works, the subjects he taught, his students, the number of Yemeni or Zabīd students who attended his teaching sessions, or their names, etc. However, from his succinct remarks, it is evident that al-Falimbānī had, at least, a group of

"outstanding students" in Zabīd whom al-Ahdal terms as *ba'd fiḍalā' at-ṭalabah*.¹²¹

From other sources, we can depict some of the subjects that al-Falimbānī taught in Zabīd, or at least taught to al-Ahdal himself. Apart from al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'*, he studied az-Zurqānī's commentary on *al-Muwaṭṭa'* with al-Falimbānī, and with this *isnād*, he relates the rest of az-Zurqānī's works.¹²² As already mentioned, al-Ahdal received the initiation into as-Sammāniyyah *Ṣūfī* Order from 'Abd as-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, who in turn had received this Order directly from its founder his Master Muḥammad as-Sammān. Al-Ahdal in turn passed down this Order to later generations of Yemeni scholars.¹²³ It is evident from this *silsilah* that al-Falimbānī was a leading proponent of as-Sammāniyyah Order who disseminated it further to his *Jāwī* and Arab students.

In addition to *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal wrote numerous works, including *Sharḥ Bulūgh al-Marām fī Alḥādīth al-Āḥkām*, *Kashf al-Ghīṭā' fī Mas'ālat Ibn 'Aṭā'*, *al-Faṭḥ al-'Alī fī Ma'rīfat Salb al-Walī*, *Baḥth fī Sabab Taqđīm al-Aws 'alā 'l-Khazraj*, apparently on historical factors for the preference of al-Aws over al-Khazraj, the two tribes of Medina, *Faṭḥ al-Lāṭīf fī Sharḥ Muqaddimat at-Taṣrīf*, *Talqīḥ al-Āḥkām fī Waṣāyā Khayr al-Anām*, *Farā'id al-Fawā'id*, *ar-Rawḍ al-Warīf fī Istikhdām ash-Sharīf*, and *Barakat ad-Dunyā wa 'l-Ukhrā fī 'l-Ijāzāt al-Kubrā*.¹²⁴ The latter, is a work specifically on his *ijāzah* in two volumes, the manuscript copy of which is said to exist in a private library – namely Maktabat al-Adīb Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Yarīmī in Ṣan'ā'.¹²⁵ Al-Kattānī mentioned this work in his *Fahras al-Fahāris*; however he only gives a very brief description telling us that he found its attribution to al-Ahdal in the *ijāzah* of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Āmirī, the Ḥanbālī *muftī* in Mecca.¹²⁶ As the title would suggest, perhaps this work contains all the *ijazāhs* written and granted to 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal by his teachers, including no doubt, the aforementioned lengthy *ijāzah* written by al-Falimbānī.

Apparently, al-Ahdal did not travel much. This is perhaps understandable, as we noted earlier that he assumed the office of *muftī* at a very young age leaving him with no option to travel widely. However, that does not mean he did not meet eminent scholars of his time or did not travel at all. Furthermore, from his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* we can

deduce that he took the opportunity to study with any eminent visiting professors to Zabīd in addition to its own 'ulamā'. One such occasional trip we have account of was his travel to *al-Haramayn*. According to al-Habshī, al-Ahdal travelled to Mecca in 1199/1784 where presumably, as well as performing the *hajj* he met one of his teachers, 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Jarhazī.¹²⁷ It is perhaps during this stay that he met some of his other Meccan teachers mentioned in his *an-Nafas*, such as 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Tāj ad-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Qal'i (ca. 1150-1229/1737-1813), the Ḥanafī *muftī* in Mecca.¹²⁸

It should be understood that despite having limited opportunity to travel outside Zabīd to study with scholars of his time, his ubiquitous presence in *isnāds* of his contemporaries and later generations is more than enough evidence to highlight his prominent position as an extraordinary scholar. In addition, I have already demonstrated above his highly regarded stature, as attested by other renowned scholars such as al-Kattānī. From his vast narrations, it is worth noting that he had connections to earlier *Šūfi* progenitors. For instance, his *isnād* on *hadīth at-talqīm* begins with his father Sulaymān, who in turn received it from Aḥmad Maqbūl, who received it from Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, who received it from 'Isā ath-Thā'ālibī and henceforth, including names such as Abū Madyan Shu'ayb b. al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-'Arabi, al-Ghazālī, Abū Ṭalib al-Makkī, al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, as-Sarī as-Saqaṭī, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, Dāwūd at-Tā'i, and others up to the Prophet SAW.¹²⁹

Thus, from the above discussion, it is clear that I have established the point that 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal was undoubtedly the best-known and most prominent example among al-Falimbānī's students.

Al-Falimbānī in the Malay Archipelago

In contrast to the above two major centres of Islamic learning (Mecca and Zabīd), al-Falimbānī's students in the Archipelago are the most difficult to identify. Firstly, this without doubt is due to a grave shortage of available Malay sources because most of the primary materials, especially the rich collections of manuscripts deposited in various libraries, remain untouched until today. Secondly, to a certain extent, even if we do find such records of his students from these manuscripts, it would not be easy

to trace and establish their identities. Unless they were among the later renowned *Jāwī* scholars whom we can find records of from the earlier mentioned Arabic biographical dictionaries, it is almost impossible to establish their identities since we do not have such compilations in Malay. Finally, recent references to such records are often unreliable or unverified as they lack the analytical and critical scholarly spirit. Some of these are mainly claims only based on oral traditions, which are practically impossible to ascertain.

The only information on al-Falimbānī's students in the Malay Archipelago at present is scattered in the compilations of Shaghir Abdullah. However, since his works suffer from a number of inconsistencies as indicated earlier, it should be treated with caution. The first such student whom Abdullah claims to have been a disciple of al-Falimbānī was Haji Mahmūd b. Muḥammad Yūsuf of Terengganu, Malaysia, who copied substantial numbers of al-Falimbānī's works. Abdullah argues that among the evidence indicating that he was his student is a clearly recorded manuscript copy of *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, which unfortunately is only available in Abdullah's own personal collection. He adds that Mahmūd is said to have started his active writing career in 1235/1819 and that it extended to 1291/1874.¹³⁰ However, if these dates can be verified, it is then plausible that he might possibly have met and studied with al-Falimbānī, since I have already established earlier that he died in 1254/1839. Moreover, we would still need further evidence to support the claim that he studied with him even if we can prove that they both lived during the same period.

The second student of al-Falimbānī that Abdullah mentioned was Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Minkābāwī. In addition, he points out that the latter's son Muḥammad Nūr was a student of al-Falimbānī's daughter, Fātimah al-Falimbāniyyah.¹³¹ However, we are fortunate that Ismā'īl's biographical notice is available from our Arabic biographical sources.

All biographers of Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Minkābāwī al-Jāwī al-Makkī al-Khālidī an-Naqshabandī ash-Shāfi'ī are in accord that he was born in the Malay Archipelago, perhaps in Minangkabau, Sumatra as his *nishbah* indicates. He travelled with his father at a very young age to Mecca where he grew up and received his rudimentary education.¹³² He then advanced his learning under the guidance of 'Uthmān ad-Dimyātī

with whom he studied several Islamic disciplines, including *fiqh* with his instruction. After his teacher's death (in 1265/1848), Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī moved on to study with his nephew, Ahmad ad-Dimyātī (d. 1270/1853) whom we have mentioned earlier was the Shāfi'i *muftī* of Mecca. Other scholars with whom he also studied include Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Qudsī (d. 1260/1844) and Ṣalīḥ ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī (d. 1240/1824), both Shāfi'i *muftīs* of Mecca. The latter was among one of his close teachers and according to al-Bakrī, he met him during his early youth and remained with him until his death, which al-Minkābāwī dated in his own handwriting as Thursday, 7 Jumādā ath-Thāniyah 1240/27 January 1825.¹³³

It is important to point out that these scholars were also teachers of 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ṣubḥ al-Bīmāwī, mentioned earlier as a student of al-Falimbānī. Thus, Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī's period of study must have coincided with that of al-Bīmāwī's and it can therefore be expected that they must have been contemporaries in Mecca and were most likely part of the same circles. Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī later became so proficient in various Islamic sciences that he was nominated to teach at al-Masjid al-Harām and students flocked to study with him. In term of *tariqah* affiliation, he follows the Naqshabandīyyah Khālidīyyah *Sūfī* Order. Abdullah maintains that al-Minkābāwī was the proponent of this Order in Kepulauan Riau (Riau Islands, Indonesia) and that most of the adherents of this Order traced back their *silsilah* to him.¹³⁴

Though Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī's date of birth is unknown, biographical sources are in accord that he died in Mecca after 1280/1863, and al-Bakrī points out that he died at the age of close to seventy.¹³⁵ Thus, he must have been born approximately around 1210/1795 and if this was the case, it is then highly plausible that he met and studied with al-Falimbānī. Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī was survived by two sons, Muḥammad Azharī (d. 1302 or 3/1884 or 5)¹³⁶ and Muḥammad Nūr (d. 1313/1895),¹³⁷ who according to Mirdād were meritorious and upright scholars ('*aqaba ibnayn 'ālimayn fādilayn*'); the former died in Mecca leaving two sons, Ismā'īl and Sālim, and the latter also died in Mecca at the age of fifty and was survived by two daughters.¹³⁸

It is worth noting that while in one work Abdullah mentioned that Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī was al-Falimbānī's student, he contradicts himself

in another by saying that he was a close friend of both al-Falimbānī and Dāwūd al-Faṭānī.¹³⁹ From the dates surrounding his life and his period of study, it is hardly plausible that al-Minkābāwī could have been a close friend of these two scholars in the real sense. Perhaps they were friendly towards him. Nonetheless, based on the place he lived and died (Mecca), he was perhaps very likely to be among al-Falimbānī's students in Mecca rather than in the Archipelago.

Another of al-Falimbānī students in the Archipelago mentioned in passing by Abdullāh was Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Muřid ar-Rāwāh.¹⁴⁰ However, Arabic sources only mention him as Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Rāwāh al-Jāwī ash-Shāfi'i, born in his hometown and later travelled and sojourned in Mecca for a considerable period. He studied with prominent scholars of his time including a blind scholar (*ad-darīr*), Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marzūqī al-Mālikī (d. 1281/1864) and 'Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī. Ṣāliḥ Rāwāh was an intelligent student and was lauded by his *al-Haramayn* teachers and granted the permission to teach at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām; students, mostly *Jāwīs* flocked to study with him.¹⁴¹ Again, we notice that these scholars were also teachers to most of al-Falimbānī's students in Mecca, thus indicating that Ṣāliḥ Rāwāh must have been their contemporary and was most likely part of the same circle.

In addition, Mirdād points out that in terms of *tariqah* affiliation, he follows as-Sammāniyyah *Sūfī* Order.¹⁴² Perhaps, he received the membership to this Order directly from al-Falimbānī who we know was one of as-Sammānī's *khalifahs* and a leading proponent of this Order. According to al-Bakrī and Mirdād, Ṣāliḥ Rāwāh died in Mecca around 1270/1853 and was interred at al-Ma'lā leaving two sons, Aḥmad and Muḥammad.¹⁴³

To conclude this chapter, it is clear that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was a peripatetic scholar, travelling from one centre of Islamic learning to another, studying with and learning from various teachers who had their own personal traditions of religious scholarship before settling down in Mecca where he later became established. There was a great deal of diversity among his teachers as they were different from each other in terms of not only their places of origin but also their *madhhabs* and *tariqah* affiliations. Though al-Falimbānī was a Shāfi'i in terms of his adherence to Islamic legal doctrine, he did not restrict himself

by studying only with Shāfi‘ī scholars but also with teachers from the three remaining Sunni *madhhabs*: Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī. Similarly, in terms of *tariqah* affiliation, his teachers followed the path of an-Naqshabandīyyah, al-Qādirīyyah, ash-Shāṭārīyyah, ash-Shādhiliyyah, al-Ādiliyyah, al-Khalwatiyyah, al-‘Alawīyyah, while he followed the path of al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah.

It is also important to highlight that al-Falimbānī's scholarly and intellectual connections with eminent scholars of earlier generations are evident through his interactions with his numerous teachers. For instance, through Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, Aḥmad Maqbūl al-Ahdal, Sālim al-Baṣrī and ‘Umar as-Saqqāf, al-Falimbānī was the ‘grand-disciple’ of ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī, Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī, Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Muḥsīn al-Qal‘ī and Muṣṭafā b. Fath Allāh al-Ḥamawī. Through ‘Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl, he was the ‘grand-disciple’ of Muḥammad Hilāl and Muḥammad Sa‘īd Sunbul; through Muḥammad Mirdād and Muḥammad Murād as-Sindī, he was the ‘grand-disciple’ of Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī as-Ṣaghīr and Muḥammad Hāshim at-Tatwī as-Sindī, an eminent Indian scholar, respectively; through Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī, he was a ‘grand-disciple’ of Ibn ‘Aqīlah, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Tayyib al-Maghribī, Aḥmad al-Ashbūlī and ‘Abd Allāh ash-Shubrāwī; through Muḥammad as-Sammān, he was a ‘grand-disciple’ of Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alawī al-Haddād, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī and Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī.

Through his Egyptian teachers, such as Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī and Murtadā az-Zabīdī, he was a ‘grand-disciple’ of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī az-Zurqānī and Shāh Walī Allāh ad-Dihlawī respectively. Finally, through his Damascene teachers, such as Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd al-‘Atṭār and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad as-Saftlārīnī, he was a ‘grand-disciple’ of ‘Alī al-Kuzbārī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ghazzī, Ismā‘il al-‘Ajlūnī, Aḥmad al-Manīnī, Ilyās al-Kūrānī, Aḥmad al-Ba‘lī and ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī.

The importance of stating al-Falimbānī's long list of scholarly connections above is that it enables us to see how the Islamic intellectual tradition and the scholarly writings of such ‘*ulamā*’ were handed down to al-Falimbānī and through him to his students. This will be further illustrated by looking at his own writings, which we turn to next.

Endnotes

- For Nawawī al-Bantānī's biography and works see al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 28-9; vol. 2, pp. 1637-9; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 2, pp. 449-50; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 318; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, pp. 969-70; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 394; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 11, 189, 204, 342, 346, 420, 464, 543, 599; vol. 2, pp. 18, 21, 24, 105, 167, 172, 192, 218, 235, 245, 399, 468, 674, 691, 695; Kahjālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 11, p. 87; vol. 12, p. 83; Marndūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, p. 304; Steenbrink, Karel A., "Syekh Nawawi Banten," in his *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta, Bulan Bintang, 1984), pp. 117-27; Snouck, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 268-73; Abdullah, "Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani – Imam Nawawi Kedua" in *Dewan Budaya*, August 1993, pp. 51-3; idem, "Syeikh Nawawi al-Bantani, digelar Iman Nawawi kedua" in *Utusan Malaysia*, Monday 7 February 2005, p. 9; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 45-50; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 813-4. For a study on Nawawī al-Bantānī see Abd. Rachman, "Nawawī al-Bantānī: An Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition," *Studia Islamika*, 3, 3 (1996), pp. 81-114; Wijoyo, Alex Soesilo, *Shaykh Nawawi of Banten: Texts, Authority, and the Gloss Tradition* (PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1997); Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 151.
- See al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1637.
- See Abd. Rachman, "Nawawī al-Bantānī," p. 86.
- See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 318; al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1637.
- See al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1638; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar min Kitāb Nashr an-Nawr*, vol. 2, pp. 449-50; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288.
- See al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 62; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 105.
- See supra, pp. 95, 96, 114, 135, 136.
- See al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1638; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288.
- See al-Bantānī (d. 1314/1896) Muḥammad Nawawī b. 'Umar b. 'Arabī b. 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Makkī, *Ijāzah Muḥammad Nawawī b. 'Umar al-Jāwī al-Bantānī Li-'Abd as-Sattār b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Hindī al-Kutbī as-Siddīqī* (MSS Maktabat al-Haram al-Makkī, 725/4 *Ijāzāt*), p. 15.

¹⁰ See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 268-73. Cf. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam*, pp. 117-22.

¹¹ For Khaṭīb as-Sambasi's biography see al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 273-4; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, p. 53; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 71; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyān*, vol. 1, p. 526; Abdullāh, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, pp. 177-93; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 16.

¹² 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Bimāwī's biography is given shortly.

¹³ Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 10, 11, 16, 19, 25, 28, 29, 48, 49, 52, 59; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 6, 7, 10, 13, 16, 17, 47, 50, 54, 60, passim; idem, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah*, p. 11; idem, *Waraqāt*, p. 25; idem, *al-Nafhat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5; idem, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 22; idem, *al-Fayd ar-Rahmānī*, p. 14; idem, *Iḥāf al-Bararah*, pp. 10, 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, pp. 7, 21, 54, 62, 66, passim; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 502.

¹⁴ See al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1638; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288.

¹⁵ For more information of some of his prominent students see Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawi of Banten*, pp. 77-88; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 151.

¹⁶ Jam'an at-Tanqarānī was reported to have been a *mu'ammar* who lived for one hundred and eighty years and died on 8 Shawwāl 1381/15 March 1962. See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169.

¹⁷ Cf. al-Fādānī, *Iḥāf al-Mustafid*, p. 24; idem, *al-Arba'un al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 61; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 16, 17, 45, 47, 61, passim; idem, *Waraqāt*, p. 25; idem, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah*, p. 11; idem, *al-Nafhat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5.

¹⁸ See al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1637.

¹⁹ See al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 394; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyān*, vol. 2, p. 970.

²⁰ See footnote 9 above. Cf. Muṭī' ar-Rahmānī, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, p. 311; vol. 3, p. 1030.

²¹ See al-Bantanī (d. 1314/1896), Muḥammad Nawawī b. 'Umar, *Marāqī al-'Ubūdiyyah Sharḥ 'alā Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (Egypt, Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah al-Kubrā, 1327/1909), p. 100; idem, *Salālim al-Fudalā' 'alā al-Manzūmah al-musammāh Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Tariq al-Awliyā'* (Egypt, al-Maṭba'at al-Bahiyyah, 1301/1884), p. 56.

²² See al-Bantanī, *Salālim al-Fudalā'*, p. 2.

²³ See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 271-2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-1.

²⁵ See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farūd*, pp. 6, 8, 68, 101, 105, 119, 120, 124, 130, 148; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 9, 12, 90, 113, 114, 123, 124, 131, 140, 142; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 36.

²⁶ For ‘Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī’s complete biography see al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 331; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 816-7; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 431; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 2, pp. 336-7; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 776-7; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Wātar*, vol. 2, p. 267; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, pp. 287-8.

²⁷ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 777. Aḥmad Dahlān in turn was highly venerated by his students that his merits were later compiled in a separate work. See Shatā (1310/1893), as-Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, *Nafhat ar-Rahmān fī ba‘d Manāqib as-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Zaynī Dahlān* (Egypt, al-Maṭba‘at al-Bahiyyah, 1305/1887).

²⁸ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 776; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 817; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 431.

²⁹ See al-Amīr al-Kabīr (1232/1816), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Mālikī al-Azharī, *Thabat Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr* (Egypt, Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘āhid, 1345/1926); ash-Shanawānī (d. 1233/1817), Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Manṣūr al-Azharī ash-Shāfi‘ī, *ad-Durar as-Saniyyah fī-mā ‘Alā min ‘Alā min ‘Asāniyyah ash-Shanawāniyyah* (s.l., s.n., s.a.); ash-Sharqāwī (d. 1227/1812), ‘Abd Allāh b. Hijāzī al-Azharī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ḥāwī Fī Marwiyyāt ash-Sharqāwī*, edited by Muḥammad Yāsīn b. Muḥammad ‘Isā al-Fādānī al-Makkī (Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā’ir, 1405/1985).

³⁰ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 777.

³¹ See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 331.

³² See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 817.

³³ See al-Fādānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 108.

³⁴ See al-Fādānī, *Asāniyyah al-Faqīh*, p. 11; idem, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 98.

³⁵ See al-Fādānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 95.

³⁶ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 137, 138, 390; vol. 2, pp. 776-7, 1072, 1079; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, p. 55; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 150-1, 186-90; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 161-2, 185-7; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 430-1; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid*, pp. 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 31, 34, 36; al-Fādānī, *Asāniyyah al-Faqīh*, pp. 11, 52, 53, 57, 66, 67, 68, 80, 83, 104, 105; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 109, 114, 124, 131,

141, 142; idem, *al-Arba'ūn Hadīthan*, pp. 16, 69, 70; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 11; idem, *Iḥāj al-Mustafīd*, pp. 6, 14, 47, 51, 57, 60, 78, 81; idem, *Asānīd al-Kutub al-Hadīhiyyah as-Sab'ah*, p. 15; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, p. 43; al-Haddād (d. 1382/1962), 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir Muftī Johor, *al-Khulāsat al-Wāfiyah fī l-Asānīd al-'Āliyah* (1st edition, Beirut, Dār al-Judhūr, 1418/1998), pp. 10-11; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abraār*, pp. 303, 331, 357.

³⁷ For further information of 'Uthmān al-Batāwī see Azra, Azyumardi, "A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid 'Uthmān" in Freitag, Ulrike and Clarence-Smith, William G. (eds.) *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s* (Leiden; New York, Brill, 1997), pp. 249-63.

³⁸ See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, p. 55; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 267; al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 9, 12, 90, 113, 114, 122, 123, 124, 131, 140; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, p. 43; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 36.

³⁹ See al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 407; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, pp. 38-43.

⁴⁰ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 6, 8, 68, 101, 105, 119, 120, 124, 130, 148; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 9, 12, 90, 112, 113, 114, 123, 124, 131, 140, 141, 142.

⁴¹ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 141-4; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 89-95.

⁴² See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 51, 97, 112, 118; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 22, 82, 100, 107; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, p. 66.

⁴³ For 'Abd Ghānī al-Bīmāwī's biography see al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, pp. 974-5; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, pp. 217-8; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 332-3; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 443.

⁴⁴ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Quds was a renowned *Jāwī* scholar of later generations. He provides us with a list of his teachers and the works he read with them in his own *thalabat* entitled *al-Mafākhir as-Saniyyah*. See Quds (d. 1334/1915), 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Makkī, "al-Mafākhir as-Saniyyah fī l-Asānīd al-'Āliyah al-Qudsīyyah," edited by Riḍā b. Muḥammad Ṣafī ad-Dīn as-Sanūsī, in *Majallah Markaz Buhūth wa-Dirasāt al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, series no. 14, pp. 215-65.

⁴⁵ See Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, p. 66; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 7, 22, 82, 100, 107; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 7, 51, 97, 112, 118.

⁴⁶ See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 273; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 526; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 71.

⁴⁷ See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, p. 218; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66.

⁴⁸ See Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 262, 268.

⁴⁹ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 7, 51, 97, 112, 118; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ See Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66.

⁵² See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3, 113; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 117; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amāni*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 165; vol. 3, p. 7; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 148-9.

⁵³ See Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amāni*, vol. 1, p. 163.

⁵⁴ He relates that the reason for being known with this appellation was that to distinguish between himself who was physically tall and his compatriot Arshad b. Muḥammad who was short, the *Jāwiṣ* pilgrims called them Arshad 'aṭ-Ṭawīl' (tall) and Arshad 'al-Qaṣīr' (short) respectively. See Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, pp. 91-2.

⁵⁵ See Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, pp. 90-3; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amāni*, vol. 1, pp. 170-1; vol. 3, p. 7; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁶ See Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, pp. 90-3; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amāni*, vol. 1, pp. 170-1; vol. 3, p. 7; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁷ See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amāni*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 165; al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 5; Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, p. 331; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 141. For a list of Muḥammad Azhari's works see Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 40.

⁵⁸ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 116-7; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 112-3.

⁵⁹ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 13, 15, 32; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 23, 46, 58, 100, 108; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amāni*, vol. 1, p. 176; vol. 3, p. 6.

⁶⁰ See at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 41.

⁶¹ For Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī's biography and works see at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 41-3; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 452-3, 503-4; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, pp. 286-7; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, pp. 320-1; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 42; Bruinessen, Martin van, "Mahfuz b. 'Abd Allah Al-Tarmasi" in *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du*

XIX^e siècle ^{nos} jours (Fasc. no 1. Paris: CNRS-EHESS, 1992), pp. 30-31.

⁶² See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 141; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 176; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 21 footnote.

⁶³ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 18, 66, 67, 69, 70, 90; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 43, 89, 92, 94, 110, 123, 124, 134, 137, 139, 141; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 6; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 7, 41.

⁶⁴ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 90; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 141.

⁶⁵ For Ṣāliḥ as-Samārānī's biography, see Bruinessen, Martin van, "Saleh Darat" in *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du XIX^e siècle ^{nos} jours* (Fasc. no 2. Paris: CNRS-EHESS, 1998), pp. 25-26; Abdullah, Wan Mohd Shaghīr, *Utusan Malaysia*, 21 March 2005.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 18, 66, 67, 69, 70, 90, 137; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 43, 89, 92, 94, 110, 123, 124, 134, 137, 139, 141; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 6; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 7, 41.

⁶⁸ Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 43, 89, 92, 94, 110, 123, 124, 134, 137, 139, 141; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 18, 66, 67, 69, 70, 90.

⁶⁹ For Arshad al-Banjārī's biography and works see Abdullah, Wan Mohd. Shaghīr, *Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari: Pengarang Sabilal Muhtadin* (Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1990); Steenbrink, Karel A., "Shaykh Mohammad Arsyad al-Banjari 1710 - 1812, Tokoh Fiqih dan Tasawuf," in his *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta, Bulan Bintang, 1984), pp. 91-100; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 39-40. For a discussion on Arshad al-Banjārī's personalities and thoughts see an Arabic article by Anwar, Khairil, "Ulamā' Indūnisiyyā al-Qarn al-Thāmin 'Ashar: Tarjamah Muhammad Arshad al-Banjārī wa Afkāruhu," *Studia Islamika*, 3, 4 (1996), pp. 137-64.

⁷⁰ It is important to note that al-Banjārī's name in *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* is distorted to Arshad b. 'Abd as-Šamad al-Banjārī instead of the correct Arshad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Banjārī as in *al-Wāfi*. See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 4, 5, 8, 31, 35, 37, 38, 43, 52, 55, 56, *passim*; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 7, 11, 59, 61, 65, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 81, 88, 91, 94, 96, 100, 101, 102, 105, 116, 117, 119, 121, 127, 129, 130, 133, 137, 138, 139, 143; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 25.

⁷¹ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 7, 59, 61, 65, 73, 76, 77, 81, 91, 94, 100, 101, 116, 117, 119, 121, 129, 139, 143.

⁷² *Ibid.* pp. 11, 50, 55, 70, 74, 105, 130, 133, 138; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170; vol. 3, p. 45.

⁷³ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 68, 69, 78, 88, 96, 102, 137; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 46.

⁷⁴ See Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, p. 409.

⁷⁵ See Steenbrink, "Shaykh Mohammad Arsyad al-Banjari 1710 - 1812," p. 96.

⁷⁶ Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 7, 11, 50, 55, 59, 61, 65, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 81, 88, 91, 94, 96, 100, 101, 102, 105, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121, 127, 129, 130, 133, 137, 138, 139.

⁷⁷ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 4, 12, 17, 20, 24, 30, 33, 38, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64; idem, *al-'Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 7, 16, 22, 44, 45, 48, 50, 53, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 77, 80, 81, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 99, 104, 107, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 125, 127, 128, 135, 143; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164; vol. 3, pp. 25, 80;

⁷⁸ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 7; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 4; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164; vol. 3, p. 25.

⁷⁹ See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

⁸⁰ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 7, 10, 16, 22, 45, 50, 53, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 77, 80, 81, 85, 86, 87, 92, 99, 104, 107, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 125, 128, 143.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* pp. 10, 45, 103, 135; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

⁸² See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 45; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 14.

⁸³ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 7; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 10.

⁸⁴ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 44, 48, 67, 80, 83, 88, 107, 118, 120, 125, 127; idem, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 21; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 173; vol. 3, p. 20.

⁸⁵ al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 110, 122.

⁸⁶ See al-Falimbānī, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2086, pp. 1, 2.

⁸⁷ See Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāsī*, p. 79; al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 10.

⁸⁸ See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 9-10; Kāhjālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 3, p. 127; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 250.

⁸⁹ See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 10-1; Kāhjālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 3, p. 127.

⁹⁰ See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 3, pp. 222-3.

⁹¹ See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 10; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 43.

⁹² See Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, p. 79; al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 10.

⁹³ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 64, 82; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 87, 97. For his biography see Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭār*, vol. 2, pp. 478-80; ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Tāli'*, vol. 2, p. 199.

⁹⁴ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 64; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 87.

⁹⁵ Cf. al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 10; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, p. 79.

⁹⁶ For his biography see Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 8, pp. 45-55. For a list of his works see Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 43.

⁹⁷ See al-Banjārī, Nafīs, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, pp. 37-8.

⁹⁸ Cf. Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 8, p. 47; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 94.

⁹⁹ See al-Banjārī, Nafīs, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, p. 37.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, 27, 32. It is important to note that al-Banjārī himself dates his work as 1200/1785, but he must have made an addition after attending the lecture of Muḥammad al-Jawhārī in 1201/1786. A brief discussion of al-Jawhārī's lecture appears after an addendum given by the term *fā'idah*. See, *ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁰¹ See al-Banjārī, Nafīs, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, pp. 19, 23, 24, 31.

¹⁰² For Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's biography and works see Voorhoeve (d. 1996), P., "Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī" in *EF* (Leiden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac & Co., 1965), vol. 2, p. 183; Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud*, especially pp. 9-54; idem, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, pp. 122-57; idem, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, pp. 86-105; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10, pp. 1-42; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 26-30.

¹⁰³ See Chapter 1, pp. 12-16; Chapter 2, pp. 37, 51, 53; Chapter 3, p. 115; Chapter 4, pp. 199, 204-207; Chapter 5, p. 260.

¹⁰⁴ See Matheson, Virginia, and Hooker, M. B., "Jawi literature in Patani: the maintenance of an Islamic Tradition" in *JMBRAS* (61, 1, 1988), pp. 19-26.

¹⁰⁵ See al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1846), Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Jāwī, *Idāh al-Bāb li-Murīd an-Nikāh bi 's-Sawāb* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 58; idem, *al-Bahjat al-Mardiyah fī 'Udhri Takhaluf al-Ma'mūm 'an 'l-Imām Thalāthat Arkān Tawilah* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 42.

¹⁰⁶ For further information on the history of Pattani see Syukri, Ibrahim, *History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani*, translated by C. Bailey and J.

N. Miksic (Athens, Ohio University, Center for International Studies, 1985).

¹⁰⁷ See Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 187, 241, 254.

¹⁰⁸ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 122; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10, pp. 2-3; idem, *Syeikh Daud*, pp. 23-4.

¹¹⁰ See Murtaqā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 69-71.

¹¹¹ See al-Faṭānī (d. 1260/1845), Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs, *Dīyā' al-Murīd fi Ma'rifat Kalimat at-Tawhīd* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 53.

¹¹² See al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1846), Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Jāwī, *[Risālah Taṣawwuf]* (National Library of Malaysia, MSS 2526), fols. 2, 3, 6.

¹¹³ For 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal's biography see al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, pp. 345-9; idem, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 153-4; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, pp. 826-7; ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Tālī*, vol. 1, p. 186; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, pp. 47-50; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam*, vol. 3, p. 307; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 557; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 262, 320, 370, 591; vol. 2, pp. 170, 183, 362, 591, 672; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 250-1, 695-700; al-Habshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, pp. 84, 279, 361, 399, 561; al-Ahdalī, *al-Qawl al-A'dal*, pp. 124-6; al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 184-190, 192-257; Kāhjālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, p. 140; al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, pp. 4, 21; idem, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 82; idem, *Ithāf at-Tālib as-Sirrī*, p. 89; idem, *Fayd al-Mubdī*, p. 11; Quds, *al-Futūhāt al-Qudsīyah*, p. 5; al-Mālikī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'ah*, p. 98; Brockelmann, *GAL (S) N* vol. II, p. 817.

¹¹⁴ See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 345; idem, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 154.

¹¹⁵ See ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Tālī*, vol. 1, p. 186; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 50.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, pp. 329-30; idem, *Nuzhat an-Nażar*, vol. 1, pp. 136-7, 310, 311; Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, pp. 69-70, 234-5, 324.

¹¹⁷ See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, pp. 346, 349; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam*, vol. 3, p. 307; al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 78; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 698; al-Habshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 84; al-Baghdādī, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 165.

¹¹⁸ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 695-6.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 697.

¹²⁰ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 139.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹²² See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 50; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 18.

¹²³ See al-Ḥabshī, *Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah*, vol. 1, p. 91.

¹²⁴ For a list of his works see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 6-7; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 466; Muṭī' ar-Rāḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 999; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, 698; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, p. 140; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 307.

¹²⁵ See Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 466 footnote.

¹²⁶ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 250-1.

¹²⁷ See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 356.

¹²⁸ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 213-5.

¹²⁹ See al-Ḥabshī, *Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah*, vol. 1, p. 74.

¹³⁰ See Abdullah, *Al-'Urwatul Wutsqa*, p. vi; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 7-8, 30. For his biography see Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 13, pp. 24-35.

¹³¹ See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 140-1.

¹³² For Ismā'īl al-Minkābawī's biography and works see al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 213-4; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 95-6; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 931; Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, pp. 106-13; idem, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, pp. 158-74; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 34-5.

¹³³ See al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1352.

¹³⁴ See Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, p. 108.

¹³⁵ See al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 214. Cf. Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 95; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 931.

¹³⁶ See al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, pp. 1636-7.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1639-40; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 401-2.

¹³⁸ Cf. Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 95; al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 214.

¹³⁹ Cf. Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, p. 108; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 140-1.

¹⁴⁰ See Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud*, p. 49; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 12, p. 50.

¹⁴¹ For Ṣāliḥ Rāwāḥ's biography and works see al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 706-7; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, p. 173; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 450; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 12, pp. 49-57; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 44.

¹⁴² See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, p. 173.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 173; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 707.